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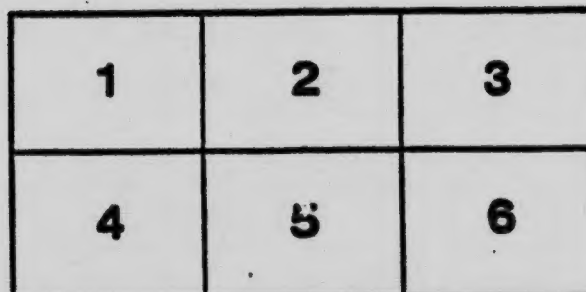
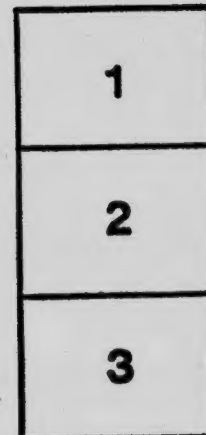
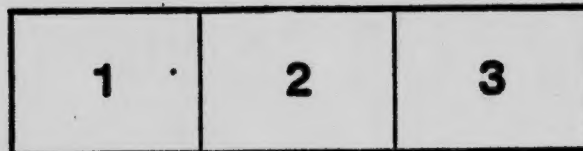
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THE MAIN POINT IN THE POLITICS OF MANITOBA

Our subject, this morning, is expressed in eight words: "The Main Point In The Politics of Manitoba." The subject is a political one but the purpose of the sermon is not to indulge in a criticism, discriminate or indiscriminate, of our public men. Practical politics is an interesting but difficult science. I trust I am not indifferent to the problems which confront the modern statesman. But Parliament is in session, and because of certain well known incidents and accidents which have come to pass, the atmosphere seems to be surcharged with the electricity of political discussion and partisan conflict.

There is a time to speak and a time to be silent. The time to speak on this subject is the time when "everybody" is thinking about it. At such a time the risk assumed by a public speaker may be less than when dealing with strictly normal themes, but the prospects of being heard are correspondingly increased, therefore, we have ventured during the sessions of our present parliament to speak on two subjects which bear a close relationship to each other, namely, "The Trials And Temptations Of Our Public Men" and "The Main Point In The Politics of Manitoba." This morning we address ourselves to the latter subject.

"Statesmen" are said to be "successful politicians who are dead." Be that as it may, we imagine that the difference between a statesman and a politician is that the statesman is able to forecast the future and is willing to assume a fair measure of responsibility in following "the gleam," whereas the politician is "the prisoner of his date" and seeks for power rather than progress. But politics is a practical science. What can a leader do without votes? What can the shrewdest statesman achieve without a constituency? Even the most progressive leader must have an eye for events and an ear for tendencies. There is a barometer called "Public Opinion" and you will always find it just outside the window of the successful political leader; and it registers for

NOV 29 1951

him the fluctuations in the atmosphere of popular sentiment. As a rule politicians register but do not create public opinion. I presume it is safe to say that you have no right to hold your public representatives responsible for an unexpressed sentiment. Therefore I speak for the purpose of creating a public sentiment with reference to a certain subject which occupies a large measure of attention at the present time and in the hope that our political leaders and public men may be duly influenced by every private and personal opinion expressed in a spirit of candor, honesty and sincerity. I have no right to criticize the public acts of public men, with reference to any matter which has been brought before the community, unless, I have, in words clear, distinct and pronounced, expressed my opinions and convictions relating thereto.

I desire to speak to you, this morning, concerning the encroachments of the Roman Catholic Church on our system of public schools. And I shall speak boldly because I believe that I am speaking for a large class of our Roman Catholic citizens as well as for those who are popularly designated as "Protestants."

And, by the way, no preacher in our fair city, during the past eight years, has spoken in terms more kind concerning those who differ with him, theologically and ecclesiastically, than the pastor of Central Church. Pardon me, if I say it, but a spirit of toleration belongs to the genius of Congregationalism. And I have never spoken adversely concerning the policy, programme or purpose of the Roman Catholic Church, except when a public emergency, precipitated by the leaders of that church, has called for a distinct protest and an immediate utterance. I am not indifferent to human applause, and I imagine that I know what words and acts, in these days, tend to reduce a speaker's popularity among certain classes in the community where he resides, but there are certain subjects on which I feel compelled to speak, without fear or favor, and the subject I have chosen this morning is one of them.

We are approaching the four hundredth anniversary of the hour when Martin Luther nailed his ninety-five theses to the cath-

edral door at Wittenberg. We have had four hundred years of Protestantism. Protestantism stands for an ideal—even a commonwealth of free souls. To quote the words of Hugh Stowell, which would seem to be a modernization of a certain sentiment expressed by Horace Bushnell, years ago: "The liberty of the soul is the soul of liberty." I, for one, am not prepared to apologize for Protestantism. In the four centuries of its progress, knowledge has been diffused, democracy has been born and liberty has been enthroned.

The Church of Rome has lost its grip on the Old World. France has forsaken her. Portugal has repudiated her. Spain has quarrelled with her. Germany has rebuked her. Italy has openly defied her. While Great Britain, in the modern phraseology of her coronation oath, has re-affirmed her loyalty to Protestantism and refused to turn backward toward the things which are past. Driven out of the Old World, Rome is planning for the conquest of the New World. Rome is now on the aggressive. Where she cannot win—she waits. How "divinely" persistent! Let us be on our guard! Progress does not consist in going backward.

Romanism is a trinity. It is a political organization with aspirations unsatisfied. It is a financial corporation with millions of gold invested. It is a religious institution with sacraments and symbols. When we approach Rome we are not always sure which side of the triangle is facing us. Religion, Finance and Politics form a strange mixture with marvelous possibilities of development. Rome is entitled to all the money she can raise, honestly, and to all the religion she can foster consistently, but we dispute her right, as a religious organization, to enter the political realm for purposes which are in no sense political.

Rome claims her right to dictate in all matters political. No other church or denomination, on this continent, except it may be the Mormon Church, assumes such an attitude.

The arrival of certain recently appointed Cardinals on the eastern shores of our American continent has caused our Roman Catholic neighbors, in yonder Republic, to have much to say con-

cerning "the princes of the blood." For, the cardinals of the Roman Catholic church are spoken of, by those who would honor them as enjoying the social and official status of royalty, as "princes of the blood." If we did not know the exact meaning of the phrase, in the peculiar relationship in which it is used, we would be considerably amused when our friend "O'Connell" is spoken of as "a prince of the blood." The blood! Indeed! Whose blood? What blood? Is Irish blood princely blood? Thank you, we have Irish blood in our own veins, but we never thought of "banking" on it. We always imagined that brains, scholarship, and certain qualities of sincerity and sympathy were the "princely" elements in the character of a preacher or a priest. But, today, an honest Irish boy, full grown to the proportions of a Roman Catholic cardinal, must be bandied about as "a prince of the blood." How his dear old mother must smile if she is alive and mentally sound.

But the Irish boy has not only become a cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church and "a prince of the blood," but he demands certain social prerogatives which belong only to "the princes of the blood." In the United States, for instance, at all political functions of a social sort, he claims the right (which claim is not granted) to sit next to the president of the United States and that he shall have priority over the judges of the Supreme Bench and the representatives of the civil governments of the world.

When William Howard Taft, president of the United States, was guest at a dinner, given in Boston, on St. Patrick's Day, by the Charitable Irish Society, Cardinal O'Connell (the name sounds familiar) demanded that he be given precedence over Governor Foss of Massachusetts, and insisted that this honor be conferred upon him in spite of the fact that Governor Foss absolutely refused to accept a position at the banquet which would exalt a particular church above the State. The Governor was right.

Think of a great church, playing with the "Teddy Bear" of a little but high sounding title, in an age of democracy. Today they may tell you that "it doesn't mean anything," but fifty years

from today their ecclesiastical successors will be trying to convince you as to exactly what it does mean. There is a method behind certain high-flown phrases. The Teddy Bear may become a real live animal. "Sam" Jones once said, "I can see through a ladder if there is a light on the other side." So can most of us.

* * *

The one thing which kills the animosity of Rome is our splendid system of public schools. Our popular public school system of education on the North American continent with its great army of four hundred thousand teachers—all trained and qualified for their work—is one of the finest achievements in the history of the New World, and the brightest star in the diadem which crowns our civilization.

Plato said: "Take care of education and education will take care of you." "Only the best is good enough for a child." We have the best system of popular education which time has produced. It is the best prophecy of human progress—Rome has declared her disapproval of this system of public schools. Wherever she can she seeks to disturb a system of education which she could not reproduce if she would and would not reproduce if she could. Rome has never been a friend of popular education.

However, the Roman Catholic church has her own system of education—her own system of parochial schools—and the representatives of the Church of Rome, in Winnipeg, have appeared before our Winnipeg School Board and made a formal request that these schools be "taken over" by the city and regarded as part and parcel of our municipal system of education—hence the appropriateness of this discourse at this time.

There is no good and valid reason why the city of Winnipeg should "take over" the schools of any religious denomination existing within its boundaries. There are many strong and substantial reasons why a modern city should not have a two-headed system of education. There is no sound argument to justify the Roman Catholic church in refusing to send her children to our public schools. Our public schools are not irreligious because a special phase of religious thought is

not taught in them. That a larger place is not given, in our educational system, to the inculcation of certain universally accepted principles of religion may be laid at the door of the Roman Catholic church almost to the exclusion of every other class of critics or objectors; for, the position taken by the Roman Catholic church is practically to the effect that no public school shall be regarded as acceptable to them in which the religion of Rome is not taught.

The method of Rome has been to criticise the quality and character of the religious instruction given in a public school, and, then when such religious instruction has been eliminated, in order to please her, to turn the tables, thereupon, and charge that a school without definite religious instruction is "godless."

If our public schools are without, so called, religious training, we know who is to blame for it.

Our motto is "Education for all and the same education for all." We ought to have, in city and province, but one system of public instruction, agreeable alike to Jew, Catholic and Protestant. Such a thing is not only possible, but, to ordinary mortals, of all creeds, it seems to be within easy reach of practical accomplishment.

The fundamental thought of every religion is rooted in the idea of "God." The man who does not believe in God is abnormal. His numerical strength is not equal to one in a thousand. You can safely ignore the atheist.

We can have religious education without sectarian education. I am not pleading for religious education—I am simply stating the practical possibility of incorporating a certain measure of religious instruction as a part of our educational program. The thing is not impossible. That it is at all necessary. I am not convinced. But it is easily within the reach of practical accomplishment. All the underlying principles of morality and religion are being taught in a scientific course of salesmanship, in the city of Winnipeg, and Catholics, Protestants and Jews are to be found among the students. God, Truth, Right, Wrong, and Universal Brotherhood could be taught in every public school without in-

fringing on any creed in Christendom.

Let the city, province or state, teach as much religion as the teachers of religion can agree upon. If the teachers of religion can't agree, then, in the name of the God whom they all profess to worship, let average humanity, which finds itself enthroned in that which we call The State, proceed, thenceforth, to instruct, its own children, in its own way, in the fundamental facts of universal knowledge. Shall we have a splendid educational system split up into atoms because theological specialists and ecclesiastical experts cannot agree as to the religious value of the Twenty-Third Psalm? Fie on you all!

While I am willing to admit the practical possibility of providing religious instruction in our public schools, I am not pleading for it. I am not arguing in its favor. **The public school is not primarily the place to teach religion.** The place to teach religion is in the church. What is the church for if not to preach and to teach religion. I go to the bakery for bread, to the book-seller for books, to the tailor for clothes, to the hotel for shelter and food, to the bank for deposited cash, to the railroad for transportation, to the business college for business training, to the hardware store for building materials, to the leather merchant for boots and shoes, to the school, academy and university for instruction, and to the church for the symbols, sacraments and services of a religious nature.

The public school is the place to teach science, not scripture; history, not theology; patriotism, not religion; fact, not dogma—The Roman Catholic church has more untaxed property in the Dominion of Canada than any other denomination and yet, if we are to believe her, she cannot contrive a method by which she can provide religious instruction for her own children; so she asks the State to do the work, in her name, and under her supervision, and—of necessity—to pay the bills. Of course you may send in your public "Inspector." If he should happen to be a Protestant his reports would have no value in the eyes of Roman Catholics. If, on the other hand, he should

happen to be a Roman Catholic, his statements would have small value in the estimation of Protestants. If the inspector proved to be acceptable to both parties he would probably be of questionable value to the state. The way to accept our public inspectors is to accept our public school system. Citizens! Be careful what you "take over"! Remember when you "take over" a system, you "take over" the growth of that system.

The divinest thing in a democracy is a public school conducted in harmony with science and sanitation. Are teachers "godless" because they are not members of the Roman Catholic church? The moral character of Roman Catholic children graduating from Roman Catholic schools is not a whit better than the moral character of Protestant and Jewish children graduating from our public schools.

If our public schools are "godless" because they are lacking in the matter of theological training then our art galleries are godless, our public libraries are godless, our postoffices are godless, our railroad systems are godless, our hospitals are godless, our commerce is godless, our Industrial Bureau is godless—the stars are godless, the flowers are godless. The mountains are godless, the sea is godless—music is godless, mathematics are godless—Everything is "godless" which does not bear the sign and seal of the Roman Catholic church.

A Roman Catholic school is a theological seminary for the young. I would rather have education without religious instruction than religious instruction handed out in the name of education. But you answer "Education without religion makes men criminals." I answer—There is, in education, no inherent tendency to make men criminals. Education makes men free. "Ye shall know the Truth and the Truth shall make you free." Education without religion, no more leads to crime, than a restaurant without a prayer book, leads to a home for incurables. It is a rejected notion that every idea imparted to a child must begin with a benediction and end with a doxology.

I would rather have our public schools "secularized" than Romanized. A thing may be non-

religious without being irreligious. It does not follow that because a book on geography is non-religious it is therefore immoral. Education, popular education, is an attempt to understand, grasp, and mentally embrace the universe, and the universe is as full of God as a sunbeam is full of light. Every child is joint heir to the intellectual treasures of the universe. Education is the key. It is the business of the State to place that key in the hand of every child born or brought into the State. And the trust is too sacred to be delegated to an organization which holds its own peculiar views as to what education means.

A dual system of education in a democracy is a political blunder. It certainly cannot be justified on the ground that in Canada, we have, broadly speaking, two races and two religions. Such a social condition provides a supreme reason why we should have one school and one school system. The conditions of our modern democracy, as they exist in Canada and the United States, necessitate one school for all. A school system is the last thing in the world which should be used to emphasize racial and religious differences. What we need in our Canadian life is not separation but amalgamation. Think of an educational system where one-fifth of the system is outside of the system. Hard on the system? Eh?

"A system of separate schools is incapable of justification on any ground of right principle or wise expediency."

Grant separate schools, as a special concession to one denomination and then every denomination has a right to demand for itself a separate school of its own style and stamp. Think of a system of separate schools, in the various sections of which you would find a Roman Catholic priest, an Anglican divine, a Baptist deacon, a Congregational pastor, a Presbyterian elder, a Methodist superintendent, and a Christian Science reader—each one entering his own separate school to instruct childhood and youth in the mysteries of his own creed. That such a condition of things does not exist in certain localities is because Protestants, as a rule, in civic and provincial

affairs, are more sensible and more reasonable than their Roman Catholic neighbors.

Suppose that every leading denomination should establish a separate school system of its own and then ask the city or province to take it over! What an educational coat of many colors we would find ourselves wearing. And what a scramble for appropriations!

Rome should no more ask for the privilege of presiding over a section of our public schools than she should ask for the privilege of presiding over certain departments of our law courts. Of course, she would be willing to "take over" our law courts if we so desired. Rome has already decreed, in districts where her power has been undisputed, that a priest is not, like ordinary mortals, subject to the law. A comforting ruling, indeed, for those who desire to avail themselves of an exceptional exception in favor of the favored—but scarcely in harmony with the principles of brotherhood and democracy.

The Roman Catholic church has no more right to enter our public schools and supervise the education of Roman Catholic children, than she has to enter the Winnipeg Post Office, and supervise all letters, post cards, and mail matter addressed to Roman Catholic citizens. Suppose that your humble servant should enter the realm presided over by our Postmaster and insist on resorting all mail matter and "parcel post" material addressed to Winnipeg Congregationalists. Methinks they would put a cancelled stamp on the right upper corner of the anatomy of the venerable pastor of Central Congregational Church and send him home.

The progressive Canadian stands for a system of education which enthrones Science and Conscience. Think of a system of Canadian schools where Canadian children are taught, at public expense, that there is but one church—the Church of Rome; that the head of that church is infallible, in fact has an exclusive monopoly of this particular virtue; that the ecclesiastical system presided over by the Holy Father is absolutely unchangeable, even in an age of progress; and that the Church of Rome is superior to the voice of conscience and the promptings of

patriotism. Aye, and all this, mind you, in the name of education and at our expense.

Think of our young Canadians being brought up under the impression that priestly gowns, miniature altars, saintly pictures, and the paraphernalia of Roman ecclesiasticalism, in full array, are a necessary part of a genuine education. The design of a Roman Catholic school is to produce Roman Catholic scholars; and not one dollar of the people's money ought to be spent for such a purpose. No school, under ecclesiastical supervision, should be supported by public funds. If the principle is wrong, it is inevitable that the results must be wrong.

A system of education which prejudices the mind of a child before life really begins, is a system which is built on tradition and reared in an atmosphere of intolerance.

Confidentially—as between the speaker and the rest of the community—you must be aware of the fact that the Roman Catholic church has not made a great record for itself in the matter of education. Rome is "great" on feasts, fasts, relics, saints, indulgences, incense, holy water, consecrated bread, prayers for the dead and penance for the living—but Rome has made "a poor list of it" in the matter of education. Spain, the most Roman Catholic country in the world, has a population of eighteen millions, twelve millions of whom are illiterate.

Rome boasts of an educated priesthood, but whether educated or not, the brotherhood of priests have usually been pretty careful to keep the golden keys of knowledge far beyond the reach of common humanity. Her system of education improves only as it is brought into competition with the instruction of a progressive civilization. Rome has always hesitated to trust the common people with the implements of a thorough education.

Religion without education makes men narrow, bigoted, intolerant and fanatical. The Eleventh Edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica has recently been published. This work is classed by scholars and educationalists as the last court of appeal in all matters pertaining to historical reference. It is universally regarded, in Great Britain and America, as being scientifically ac-

pure and historically fair, without a tinge of a shadow of a ghost of a suggestion that there exists within its pages, knowingly, a preference or a prejudice—it attempts to be absolutely without bias.

But the *Encyclopedia Britannica*—Eleventh Edition—does not suit our Roman Catholic friends. The American Federation of Roman Catholic Societies, convening recently in the United States, branded the "Eleventh Edition" as: "Unscholarly," "Sectarian," and "Offensive." It seems that they object to "sectarian" encyclopedias, if not to sectarian schools. So the greatest standard encyclopedia of modern times must be reconstructed, re-edited and re-compiled to meet the wishes of the American Federation of Roman Catholic Societies. You smile, but the absurdity of the suggestion does not disturb our Roman Catholic friends just over the border.

It is hard to please a certain class of Roman Catholics. What pleases most folks will not please them. Our public schools are good enough for Quakers, good enough for Friends, good enough for Baptists, good enough for Methodists, good enough for Presbyterians, good for Anglicans, good enough for Christian Scientists, good enough for Unitarians, good enough for Universalists, good enough for Lutherans, good enough for Plymouth Brethren, good enough for our Jewish neighbors and good enough for the Salvation Army—but not good enough for the leaders of the Church of Rome. Strange! An educational system which is satisfactory to 175 denominations on the continent of North America, ought not to be disarranged or rearranged to suit the theological notions or ecclesiastical whims of one denomination.

Why should a progressive people "take over" a second-hand school system. Education—Aye, Education. Education with a string to it. Education with a chain around its neck. Education with an ecclesiastical brand stamped on its brow. Education with an "if," a "but," a "perhaps," a "peradventure," a "maybe,"—Education within certain theological limits. Education with a priestly aspect. And this in Canada—Western Canada. Cer-

tainly our educational system ought to be as modern as the architecture and equipment of the splendid system of public school buildings now being supervised by our Winnipeg School Board. The instruction ought to be as modern as the equipment.

Education is a world science. It is presided over by master minds, many of whom are men of genius in their own department of learning. It is a calling and a profession which is classed today with the three classic professions, namely, the legal, the medical and the theological. The leaders of a profession ought to direct the program of that profession. I repeat, Education is a distinct science. Let us move in harmony with it.

Our motto is: "Education for all and the same education for all." All the social conditions of our modern democracy necessitate one system of public schools for all the people. One school for all. One language for all. One history for all. One science for all. One flag for all the people who reside beneath that flag. The suggestion of a superior political authority, other than the State, in the school rooms of the State, is an injustice to the State and must in the end prove subversive to the best interests of the State. I snell that word State with a big "S."

Personally, I stand for a popular program of public education which shall have for its foundation a splendid system of public schools, equal to the needs of our growing population, and for its apex, a modern provincial university, fully equipped, and properly endowed; both of these to be absolutely free from sectarian supervision and denominational control. Economy in education is political shortsightedness.

The representatives of the Roman Catholic Church, who recently waited on our Winnipeg School Board, did not press for an immediate answer. They are willing to wait. Rome has a genius for waiting. These neighbors of ours will wait for some unguarded moment when the good natured citizens of Winnipeg, swept by another wave of commercial prosperity, are of necessity pre-occupied, and, when certain local conditions have changed somewhat, and when, if they do not accomplish their purpose—the fault